835 /34 cont./ frequently than those between members of the same family. Such relationships are sometimes also regarded as incest (salimara'). Irrespective of kinship relationship /sic/ these /sexual/ relationships are always considered especially reprehensible.

[583 588] In a case where a man fled with his wife's niece (kamanakang), this was the reason that the reconciliation, otherwise customary after a flight, could not be brought about (1).

1. Compare Chapter III, third part. See pp. ff.

582 835 A marriage between children of the first marriage of a widower and a widow who later married so that their children came to belong to one household was forbidden in rural areas. In Macassar such a marriage was contracted. The person performing the marriage ceremony took the point of view that no objections were to be found against such a marriage under Moslem law.

835 Relations of a man with his brother's daughter or sister's daughter, or with his father's sister or mother's sister, is regarded as salimara'. The native courts punish these cases [684] with banishment for the same number of years as was cited above with respect to relations between a father and daughter. The first mentioned, that between a man with a woman of a lower generation, occurs much more frequently than the last named, that with a woman of a higher generation. The reason for this difference in frequency is said to be /35/ that a young girl has greater difficulty in resisting her uncle than a woman with regard to her nephew. From this it may again be concluded that the common opinion is that the evil initiative toward sexual contact proceeds from the man. [538] Myths or other stories concerning such relationships are unknown to me. According to rumors, such relationships did

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an
558 attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number
689 of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise, in social standing is touched at the core through impairment of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

558 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women, and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the silariang complex. A number of its aspects will now be discussed.

684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings about siri', is always held against both man and woman. Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger. For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house, and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which [583] therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated in the literature by "siliariang" marriage.

684 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for
627 contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only
●588 be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who caused siri' in this way must be killed, because only in this way can the challenge be answered and the siri' feeling of the challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

554 /213 cont./ On this occasion there is always a superior,
588 functionary or someone of higher blood present, because only
627 then does an inferior control his siri' /214/ feelings. It would
684 be a great discourtesy to act according to one's own opinions against the wishes of a superior and on top of that in the superior's presence. In a conflict of impulses to kill or not to kill, the presence of the superior makes not killing acceptable.

A superior, however, cannot without further ado impose his will upon inferiors. More clearly than elsewhere there appear here the limits of power that a superior has over an inferior. Coercion on the part of the superior to bring about a reconciliation has as a consequence not only the fact that no reconciliation is brought about, but it even intensifies existing difficulties. Below, we shall see examples of this.

588 After reconciliation there is no more question of siri';
607 relationships are again normal. But during the entire period,
684 from the moment of the flight to the reconciliation, the relationships between the fleers, tumannjala ("people who have made a mistake"), and the wife's male kinsmen, the tumasiri' ("people who are siri'"), is bound to various rules. In practice there are many generally accepted ways of meeting the difficulties that have arisen through these siri' feelings, which will be described below. One repeatedly comes upon situations, or hears opinions defended by those involved, which are comprehensible only on the basis of ideas concerning challenging and killing. This does not mean that each silariang marriage is intended in the first place as a challenge, but it is regarded as such. Subsequent conduct is in accordance with it.

627 A man who has been made siri' by a violation of sexual
684 prohibitions is therefore expected to kill the one who has transgressed. But it is not a matter of indifference how this killing takes place. By preference, it must be done in a manner worthy of a man, that is to say, by a stab with a knife (badi') in the open.

627 671 682 684 /215 cont./ "punishment." In so doing, they show themselves completely willing to bear the consequences of their deed. In a certain sense they are proud of it. Those remaining behind hold up their conduct as a model for the younger generation. Killing in response to challenge is itself a reason for self-elevation.

586 However long the jail sentence to which a man is subjected in such a case, this is never a reason for his wife to divorce him (1). She would find all her kinsmen opposing her if she [626]

1. Makassarese colonists in Paria reported that their wives were much more faithful than the Buginese, who often remarried very soon once their husbands were absent for a longer period of time, for whatever reason.

[577] should want to take such a step. After all, the husband has shown by his conduct that he is a good man. If, she should want to divorce him now, this could only mean that she is a bad woman, for there could be no other reason than that she wants another man, that is to say, that she is man-crazy (lale).

● 588 A man and a woman who flee together generally get married in the Moslem manner. But the marriage is not yet "a socially recognized union between members of the opposite sex" (2) with this, for each direct contact between the couple,

2. R. Linton, Study of Man, p. 173.

the tumannjala, and the /216/ tumasiri' is out of the question. The couple knows that their life is in danger in an encounter, and a woman who has fled has no right to inherit property from her parents (1). [428]

428 /216 cont./ 1. The religious judge (sjarat) acknowledges the share of the inheritance which is due her, but in the case of an "ordinary" division, that is to say, a division which takes place without the religious judge, her existence is officially ignored. At the most this relationship is used as a pretext, without being expressly stated as such, to leave the estate entirely or partially undivided.

593 684 627 The first person eligible to act when a woman has taken part in a contact situation is her brother. A little poem illustrates this:

[538]

Sari'battangadji todjeng,	Only the brother is the true,
iadji kalli' madjarre';	he alone is the strong fence,
pindu' tjikali	where cousins
naempoi ranggasela.	of the sixth and fourth degree waver.

There is no mention here of the girl's father. He is the one who must give the official consent to the marriage and later to the reconciliation, but if his son does not agree, he [602] gets into difficulties. Officially, all male kinsmen of the woman are siri' when she has fled, but those who take an active part in such a case are, in the first place, her brother and sometimes also a cousin of the fourth degree, or a follower (2) of her father. The boundaries cannot be sharply

2. "His siri' is that of his master," it is said.

593
602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
627
684

3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/," Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri', /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
114 great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status, nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

1:Chabot--299 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

588 /217 cont./ 1. The suggestion I made in 1938 to the effect that a deeper knowledge of the Makassarese marriage arrangement would clarify the reasons that lead to a silariang marriage has therefore proved incorrect. See /Ibid./ Vol. 149, p. 334.

Silariang is inevitably preceded by a violation of rules concerning social intercourse between the sexes, regardless of whether this was intentional or not. Only when one continues to search for the reasons leading to the transgression of these social rules, does one find the desire on the part of the individuals whose marriage is prevented by social or economic factors and who therefore resort to silariang.

521 Even if nobody else knows of this transgression but the 684 man and the woman, the latter can still not be sure that he will not boast of it in order to appear as a "ladies' man" among his companions. Boasting of success with women is typical of young men (tau rungka). They like to suggest extensive successes, even though actually little more has happened than that a number of significant glances were exchanged, and a few remarks of a general nature but, in his opinion, cleverly stated were made in her presence. At the same time, a young man has a valid reason for remaining vague when he makes such boasts, for if he were to be too explicit, so that another could understand to whom he is referring, his bragging immediately imperils the girl. Then [626] her brother might hear of it. The fact that people "talk about her" is one of the worst things that can happen to a young woman. In that case she must certainly flee because [558] her brother or cousin can do nothing but stab unless he wants

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

[571] When she is being discussed, one of the older women, sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 672] moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop
[602] at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say, they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to
[502] see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

● 588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
[626 558] without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

588 /219 cont./ Along with the request for consent, the wali is frequently asked whether he wants to receive the sunrang. And his answer that he does not wish to receive the sunrang must be interpreted in the same way as his statement respecting the consent he is asked for: he desires to deny [578] every tie with the woman who has made him siri'. She should be dead; for him she does not exist. At the nikka' the wife therefore receives the sunrang herself. Later, at the reconciliation, the sunrang is then offered to her kinsmen after it has been freshly prepared. Thereby one maintains the fiction that only then does the ordinary marriage take place.

[583] Independent of all rank and status, the amount of the sunrang at the marriage of a woman who has fled is always 20 reals (1).

[183]

1. Of the total number of marriages (107) contracted over a period of time of one year (from January 7, 1948 to January 7, 1949) in Borongloe, there were 19 silariang marriages, or around 18 per cent. This percentage seems to be normal for Goa. In 1947, 1492 marriages were registered in the entire province of around 200, 000 residents. Of these, 283 were silariang marriages. According to reports, the percentage [184] of silariang marriages is much higher in other districts, such as Djeneponto.

588 684 /220/ In the case of a silariang marriage, the man must pay a fine (kasalaang). The person performing the marriage ceremony records this payment in the marriage register. The money is kept and offered to the wife's father during the reconciliation. The latter does not want to accept the fine directly during the performance of the marriage because in so doing he would again recognize a tie with his daughter that he does not want. He therefore often asks the imam, the man who has performed the wedding ceremony, to accept this money as a "good gift" (sidakka'). That is the practice in Borongloë. Elsewhere, the marriage official hands this fine over to the wife's father directly after the marriage has been performed.

177 627 684 A few observations can be made concerning the origin of this local difference. This fine formerly used to be called, "cutting off what is pointed," or "making blunt what is sharp"; this meant that after the receipt of the fine no reason for stabbing was thought to exist any more (1). The fine was

1. Cf. C. T. Bertling, "Huwelijk en huwelijksrecht in Zuid-Celebes /Marriage and Marriage Law in South Celebes/," /Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht,/ Vol. 147, p. 203. /Batavia, 1938./

regarded as an element of the reconciliation, and for that reason was not paid until that occasion. Makassarese feelings linked the receipt of the fine to the end of the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship.

177 627 648 684 Shortly after the South Celebes expedition of 1905, the number of stabbings based upon a silariang affair seems to have been very large. At that time the administration looked

177 /220 cont./ for means to limit this number. In 1906,
627 Governor Kroese issued a circular letter in which he made the
648 suggestion designed to cause the fine to be paid directly at
684 the nikka' and to be accepted by the wife's wali, in cases of silariang marriage. He hoped that the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship would be directly removed in this way.

However carefully the suggestion may have been handled, the pressure that was exerted was nonetheless too strong. Since that date the fine has in fact been paid at the nikka' in a great many districts, but the tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship nonetheless has remained in existence. Only when we keep in mind these historical facts can we understand why, in a certain region where the wife's father accepts the fine at the nikka' but the sunrang not until the reconciliation, 'making blunt what is sharp' now indicates this sunrang.

684 /221/ According to Moslem law, the wife's wali may
582 refuse his consent to a marriage on the basis of the fact that the woman is of a higher status than the man. In an ordinary case such a difference is reason for refusing a marriage request, even if a different reason is given: "It is not seeming that they should marry" (taena nasiratang), is the usual
● [588] expression. If the wali in a case of silariang refuses to give his consent on these grounds, the imam separates them, unless the couple desires to carry through the marriage. In that case the affair goes before the judge. If the decision states that the woman is higher than the man, they are separated. Rather than seeing her married to a man of lower blood, the kinsmen will take her back again though she made them siri'.

684 After such a separation by authority of the imam or judge,
695 there no longer exists any tumasiri'-tumannjala relationship. The functionary concerned reports to the tumasiri' that the

684 /221 cont./ affair is herewith ended and that neither man
695 nor woman may be subjected to any more difficulties. In practice, however, the man, at least initially, does not show his face in a kampong where many of the woman's kinsmen reside. For safety's sake he does not do so until, for instance, she is married to another man, and feelings with regard to him have quieted down somewhat.

626 The feelings with respect to the woman who has been
684 taken back home by her own kin group have not yet completely calmed down either. She has committed a mistake which lies more in the area of the salimara' than that of silariang. She is familiar with the danger connected with it and therefore takes care to conduct herself as inconspicuously as possible, so that her male kinsmen will be reminded as little as possible of her existence. In the few cases that such a separation took place, the woman was practically always married off shortly thereafter. In a single case where this did not happen, she
● [588] fled three years later with another man likewise lower. This time the wali nonetheless had to give his consent for the marriage under pressure from the imam, who pointed out that he had taken poor care of this woman's siri' by not finding a man for her.

684 As a reason for having fled with a man, a girl sometimes
834 states that he forced her to do so and that he threatened to kill her if she did not go with him. The jurist who /222/ would accept "forcible abduction," in all such cases would make a mistake. It could not be expected of a girl to confess, even as a sworn witness before the judge, that she went with her "abductor" of her own volition. This would be a sign that she desired him, and this cannot be expected from any woman who is brought up in the idea that the display of this desire (lale) is greatly reprehensible (1).

1. In such a case one might consider not swearing in the abducted woman, of whom it

684 /222 cont./ cannot be expected that
834 she would speak the truth
on this point.

Nor does a man need to use force if he wants to coerce a woman to flee with him. By making her siri', he leaves her no choice. It would then be too dangerous for her to remain at home. Her brother would be able to do little else than stab her. Occasionally a man may purposely make a woman siri' and thereby force her to flee with him because he wants to marry her while she does not desire him for a husband. But
[626] more frequently the reason is that his kinsmen desired this union, and their request for it was turned down. For the young man, a remark such as: "Why are we refused?" is then tantamount to a command to respond to the insult of such a refusal. And he can do this in no better way than by forcing a flight.

177 Under modern circumstances in Macassar, conditions are
834 frequently somewhat different. If girls continue to attend school after they have become marriageable, their contact with young men is quite different from those under the conditions previously described. In such a situation her fear of contact with a young man is less, because now there are subjects about which she can talk to him without danger. At the same time the attitude of the young men changes. They no longer regard themselves as siri' if their sister talks to one of their school friends.

177 It is possible that the number of silariang marriages in this
● 588 younger generation is larger than in the country because, on the one hand, the opportunity for the young people to carry out their own choice against that of their parents is much greater, and, on the other hand, the danger of being stabbed in these circles is decreasing rather /223/ than increasing. Figures are not available. At the same time there are arguments which explain why the number is not much larger

177 /223 cont./ already. This is connected with the fact that
588 silariang is regarded as bad (kodi) and a festive wedding as good (badji'). A young man who likes a girl may ask her whether she wants to flee, but he will immediately accept her refusal when she says that she does not want to make her mother unhappy, or that she does not want to do "the bad," that is to say, silariang.

177 A modern young woman who associated very freely with
588 young men -- she went alone to run errands in the toko /stores/
834 and conversed with her male colleagues in the normal school when she met them on the street -- met with considerable
626 criticism from her aunts and older sisters. They called her a street broom and assured her repeatedly that she would come to an evil end. She received many requests to flee, and most of these were made not so much through a lust for adventure, but rather as a consequence of the fact that many young Makassarese men from a good house find it pleasant to marry a modern young woman who can get along in company. Silariang was therefore a means for them to carry out their wishes against those of their parents. But this young woman steadfastly refused; "I want to show that I can be modern in a good way" (eroki kupappatjinikang kamoderengangku), she would say, and the young men would be content with that. She indicated that prohibited contact in and by itself did not need to have bad consequences in the form of a marriage by flight.

Erangkale

588 One speaks of "silariang" when a man and woman flee
634 together, and of "erangkale" (literally, "to bring one's self") when the woman runs away from home alone to the man who has made her siri'. Reasons for these two forms of silariang are not different either in principle or in consequences. Frequently, it depends upon an accident whether a woman

588 /223 cont./ leaves alone or with the man. I call it an
684 accident, for instance, whether she succeeds in arranging a rendezvous for the flight through an intermediary. The fear that upon (unintentional) forbidden contact, the reaction will be a /224/ stab with the knife is always one of the motives for her flight.

588 When a woman flees to a man, the latter can do nothing
626 but go with her. He would be no "man," not even in the
558 opinion of his own kin group, if he did not do so. Rather than letting it be said of him that he "flees from a woman," he goes with her to the village or religious functionary, marries, and in so doing invites all the difficulties which a silariang marriage brings with it. Then he behaves as beseems a man.

588 It is assumed as a matter of course that a woman who
626 takes refuge with a man has reason for this. The man who
684 refuses marriage in such a case can be sure that he will no longer be an acceptable guest to many people. It is regarded as very reprehensible to make a girl siri' and then not to marry her. I was able to record only two instances of this.

684 When a girl of approximately thirteen years of age had taken refuge with a man of about twenty-six, the latter denied that he had given cause for this. He had known her a long time, so he said, and his feelings toward her had
[626] merely been those of a brother. He lamented what she had done because now they were both siri' in his opinion, she, because she fled, and he because many would be unwilling to accept his refusal and would therefore be loath to receive him in their houses. It is noteworthy about this statement that this man placed the siri' feeling of the woman beside his own. Thus, he ascribes to her siri' feelings which normally only men are supposed to possess, feelings which arise when an attempt, made in public, to attain something fails.

In the other example, the man admitted that he did have some fun with the woman who fled to him (bandjulu',

684 /224 cont./ here used in the sense of "make little verbal jokes"), but he refused to go with her. At the request of her father she was then returned to her kin group by authority of the judge. "We have enough kinsmen who can marry her," was the explanation for this request, and so it happened. In these two instances, the determined attitude of the man was accepted, while at the same time he was not regarded as tumannjala. The explanation for this may be the character /225/ of the girl, who in both cases was known not to possess the modesty and timidity which girls really should have.

588 626 684 A number of times a woman fled to a stranger in the belief that he made her siri', while in his own mind he had done something quite ordinary. Thus, a Christian Sangirese who was appointed as foreman over a number of Makassarese turned in public to the sister of one of them to ask where her brother was. A few days later she fled to him. After having been instructed by friends, he reacted according to Makassarese expectations. He paid the sunrang and the fine and behaved as beseems a good tumannjala until the reconciliation had taken place according to Makassarese custom. Only the Moslem marriage ceremony did not take place.

689 609 When an Indochinese in such a situation refused to marry, the imam took the girl back to her kin group. The latter regarded neither him nor her as tumannjala. "He does not know our adat," they said, and that was a sufficient explanation for them.

834 684 There are countless reasons which make a woman siri' and lead her to take refuge with a certain man. In each case forbidden contact with this man can be demonstrated. Frequently this contact is accidental. The girl who was addressed by the Sangirese just mentioned was at that moment engaged in drawing water. She did not answer, which was perfectly natural from the Makassarese point of view, but her father had observed the situation and said: "I sent you to the well to

/226 cont./
Extramarital Pregnancy

848 Pregnancy is naturally a reason for flight for an unmarried woman. For the first few months the male relatives need not notice anything so she can safely remain at home. Her mother or sister is sometimes taken into her confidence, but both will always deny this. If, under these circumstances, a woman does not suceed in persuading the father of her child to flee and marry her, she finally flees by herself and names [588] him to the religious official concerned. Summoned by the imam, the majority of men confess. Thereupon the marriage is carried out, and the couple is henceforth simply regarded and treated as tumannjala.

A man who continues to deny being the father of the child is taken to the Kali of Goa. If he maintains his denial [695] there, he receives the opportunity to swear solemnly in the great mosque of Goa that he did not make this woman pregnant. Once he has performed this oath, he is free. In reality, however, he is still in danger. He will do well not to enter the kampong where the woman used to live. The general opinion is that a woman does not lie under such circumstances. A man who denies being the father of her child, even though he has fortified his denial by an oath, must always take care [627] that one of her /227/ kinsmen will not try to kill him all the same. Only when she has subsequently married another man is he safe.

584 After the man has made his oath, the woman remains
588 in the imam's house until someone comes who wants to marry
848 her. This usually happens after a few days. First an emissary from this man has a talk with the imam, who then conveys the marriage request to the woman. If she is not yet acquainted with her marriage partner-to-be, she is given an opportunity to see him, and she can then decide for herself. If she remains seated silently with bowed head, this is tantamount to her consent. But her expression "tea'" (I don't want to) is accepted. A woman who refuses several candidates one after another will at most be told that she is making

584 /227 cont./ things difficult for the people around her. There
588 always seems to be a sufficient number of unmarried men who
848 would like to get married.

It rarely happens that a child is born without the mother
848 being married. This may happen by way of exception, for instance, if a woman is pregnant by her sister's husband. According to Moslem law, which in this point is strictly followed in Goa, she may not marry this man before her sister is divorced from him and the iddat period is past. Children born outside wedlock are, therefore, a rarity. At the same time they usually die soon. Only once a girl of about eight years of age was pointed out to me in Borongloë as a child who had never had a father. Figures concerning this matter
[163] cannot be given because these births, or the subsequent death of the children, are not recorded in the respective registers. Makassarese fail to see what interests would be served in doing so. They prefer to forget such cases as soon as possible.

A man who marries a woman who was impregnated by
588 another man is called pattongko' siri' ("coverer of the disgrace").
672 Such a marriage is regarded entirely like a silariang marriage.
684 No further festivities take place when it occurs. The fine is paid, and the man is tumannjala with respect to his wife's kinsmen until the reconciliation, even though he only attained this status by virtue of the fact that he married her. It is usually a widower or a man of over thirty years who wants to contract such a marriage. Sometimes he is a kinsman of the woman, but in that case always a cousin of the sixth degree (sampopinruang) or further removed, for her closest kinsmen are, in the first instance, tumasiri'.

His action is appreciated. It makes the woman /228/
[848] happy, so it is said, because he saves her and her kinsmen from an even greater disgrace, giving birth to a child without being married. This appreciation is expressed, in the first place, by an early reconciliation, often as soon as a month after the marriage has been contracted. Furthermore, although

588 /228 cont./ during the period between nikka' and recon-
672 ciliation the "pattongko' siri'" is officially regarded as
684 tumannjala, in reality both parties do their best to avoid each other more than usual.

588 A description of such a wedding will follow here to describe the atmosphere which is so completely different from that prevailing at an ordinary festive marriage, but especially to show also what both have in common. This is Djawi's wedding, which occurred in 1940 in Borongloë. There was no question of a festival here. The tone of the conversations was different from that at a festive wedding, and the ritual had been reduced to a few simple actions.

588 Djawi had fled from her parental house in a pregnant
848 condition. The man whom she had named as the father of her child had denied this, and she had then been taken to the house of the adat community head to wait there until someone should come to marry her, or, as it was expressed, "to take her disgrace away from her" (angalleangi siri'na), or else, "to let her live" (antallassi). After a few days an immediate
588 uncle of Djawi came to tell her that her uncle of the seventh degree (purina sampopinruang), by the name of Rappung, a divorced man without children, wanted to marry her. The adat community head conveyed this request to her. She already knew Rappung, and therefore she did not have to see him first, and she was given ample time to think the matter over. She continued to be silent, and from this it was concluded that she agreed to the marriage. The head reported this to the Imam of Borongloë, who sent a letter to Djawi's father in which he requested his consent to the marriage of his daughter. The letter included an authorization for the Imam to take his place as wali, an authorization to which only his fingerprint had to be added.

[583] /229/ On this occasion it appeared that the sawah designated as sunrang yielded only 50 sheaves of paddy, while a sawah of 100 sheaves was regarded as customary in such a

588 /229 cont./ case. The Imam therefore took into account
[583] the possibility that the wali would withhold his consent for this reason. The consent was given nevertheless. That Rappung was a valued worker in the kin group was probably a factor of some influence on the decision. Thereupon, the Imam, in agreement with Rappung, set the day and hour for the wedding.

Just before the time agreed upon, at about eight o'clock in the evening, the woman was taken to the Imam's house. She went directly up the back stairs and waited in the woman's rooms. A little later, Rappung arrived in the company of his gurukampong and two of his kinsmen. Shortly thereafter the Imam's son-in-law also arrived. The latter was to act as witness together with the gurukampong. At the conclusion of the solemnity both received 0.25 gulden for their part in it.

212 588 805 The Imam produced the carefully locked-away registers and wrote in these with a pen especially filed for the writing of Makassarese letters. In so doing he asked the customary questions: "How old are you?" Rappung did not know. "How old were you at the fall of Goa?" (1) was one of the questions

1. 1905.

designed to help him find the answer. "One year!" "How old is Djawi?" At the fall of Goa she apparently had not yet been born. "How old was she at the time of the Spanish influenza epidemic?" (2) "At that time she was not around

2. 1919.

yet either." The Imam assumed that she was probably born shortly thereafter and, basing her age on that, entered it in the register. February 27, 1940 was recorded as the date of the marriage, although the marriage was performed on the evening of the 26th (nine o'clock in the evening).

/229 cont./ During this solemnity those present were
588 seated in a kind of closed-off veranda built onto the house proper of the Imam. The barred windows were still in the original front wall, and the men present in the veranda could get a glimpse of the women through them. Among them was a woman called Kamida who was in exactly the same position as Djawi and who was therefore also waiting to see if someone would come for her./230/ "That Kamida would also like to," said the guru, and there was general laughter. Rappung, who now felt at ease said that he had really carried through his marriage against the wishes of his parents. They had warned him against marrying since this
[777] month is regarded as "unfavorable" for it (bulang bambang, literally, "warm month"), and the Imam responded immediately: "Rappung bambang tongi" (literally, "Rappung is also warm").

The Imam now called out loud for Djawi but she did not appear. A woman was sent to get her, but she did not come. "She is asleep," someone said. A younger brother of the Imam was told to go and call her, and meanwhile the Imam had a burning censer pushed toward him by his wife. Djawi still remained in the back, but finally, urged on by the Imam himself, she appeared in the veranda, and, with her back half turned to her husband-to-be and face turned toward the wall of the house, she sat down. If it is at all possible the woman is spared this situation. Even when servants marry,
[212] the master who organizes the wedding takes care that taking the wife's fingerprint is arranged beforehand. According to Moslem legal prescription, a woman does not sign herself if she has a father or grandfather and if she has never before
[587] been married. Silariang cases, and therefore also this case, are placed on a par with the marriage of a previously wed woman.

After Djawi had her fingerprint taken, the witnesses and the Imam signed. After that the nikka' took place. Rappung

●588 /230 cont./ was seated on a little mat with his face turned west; Djawi was seated obliquely across from him to the left, with her back turned toward him. The Imam sat across from him and obliquely to the right behind him sat the witnesses, while right next to them sat one of his male kinsmen who had accompanied him. Now the Imam passed the censer on so that it described a small circle around Rappung (nipaliliki) three times counterclockwise and once clockwise. After each circle, when the Imam again had the censer in his hand, he waved the incense smoke toward Rappung (nikapeki) with the words: "Be happy" (literally, "Open your soul").

Now the Imam with his right hand grasped Rappung's right thumb and spread a white handkerchief over both their hands. Then he asked Djawi whether she wanted to marry Rappung. /231/ She did not answer; the question was repeated with urgency. Her "yes" was scarcely audible. The Imam thereupon turned to the witnesses: "Heard?" A mumble of assent followed from all those present. Then he asked Rappung how much the sunrang amounted to. He answered, "Twenty reals." Then the Imam recited the words of the offer (idjab), "Kunikkako, Rappung, kupasikalabiniko iDjawi, ana'na iSaibu; nusunrang 20 reala'" ("I marry you, Rappung, I join you in marriage to Djawi, the daughter of Saibu; you give a sunrang of 20 reals"). After this had first been recited to him, Rappung answered that he accepted this offer (kabul). "Kutarimai pakkalabinanna iDjawi; kusunrang 20 reala'" ("I accept being joined in marriage to Djawi; I give a sunrang of 20 reals"). Thereupon, the Imam let go of Rappung's hand.

"It is the second time that he is getting married, that is why he is so clever" (that is to say, that is why he can repeat the formula immediately without any mistakes), it was remarked. The Imam then mumbled the credo (doangang nikka'), and in so doing he held both hands with the palms turned up before him. The men present did the same. This lasted for only a moment, and with it the formal part was concluded.

588 /231 cont./ Rappung shook hands with those present (a'djama taëng) in the order of rank and status, first the Imam [554 who urged him to go to his wife, who remained seated motion- 576] less. He just touched her hand. He then went to the two witnesses, first the oldest, then the Imam's younger brother, and finally to his two kinsmen who had come along.

The Imam opened the round copper box (kampu) in which the sunrang was contained. In it were: two kalomping (betel leaves folded in a special way), two pieces of areca nut, a few grains of rice, and 4.25 guldens. Of this, 0.25 gulden was designated for the Kali of Goa, and 0.25 gulden for each of the witnesses. The rest was for the Imam. And finally there was a small lump of earth symbolizing the sawah transferred as sunrang. The money was taken out of the box and distributed. Thereupon, the couple left, and with them their companions.

[493] Two three-wheeled bicycles with baskets (tallu roda) stood in readiness. Rappung and his wife sat down on the one in front. "They find it pleasant to sit close together" (nangai siampika), those on the second tallu roda shouted, but Djawi turned her back to him /232/ and by this demonstrative aversion showed that she knew how a just-married woman should behave.

Reconciliation

602 The reconciliation can be defined as the solemn arrival 627 of the two tumannjala together with the man's kinsmen and acquaintances at the house of the father or one of the brothers of the wife. There many of her kinsmen are gathered for the occasion. Wife and husband ask for forgiveness from all those present and offer the sunrang, the fine, and cookies.

622 The kampong head, or a higher functionary, is always 627 present on such an occasion. He is the one under whose authority the reconciliation comes about. In his presence the

602 627 /234 cont./ with the tumannjala. The acceptance of the cookies is therefore the overt sign that one is in accord with the reconciliation.

The limits of the kin group -- in the first chapter it was described in detail -- are vague. It is therefore impossible to include all those who must receive cookies /235/. At best, therefore, one sees to it that these cookies are offered to the houses of the prominent kinsmen and especially to those of leading men. But the individual who is not content with the reconciliation can easily avoid the cookies. The distribution of the cookies is an outward form which has little significance for the actual relationship. Nor does it seem that it had more significance formerly and that we are therefore dealing here with a so-called "outworn adat."

The same applies to the statement that a tamannjala being pursued is safe from a stab by the tumasiri' pursuing him, if he throws his cap inside the fence of the yard belonging to a kampong head or other functionary. People like to tell of this custom and add that this was formerly the case and that it should really be this way. Recent instances are unknown, however. It always remains a moot question whether, and if so to what extent, the pursuer adhered to this custom even in former times.

Cap and cookies adats are instances of forms which arise where strong feelings demand formalization. For the actual course of events they are of little importance.

684 593 588 It is impossible for a woman who has fled and has been left alone, for instance because her husband has died, to bring about a reconciliation with her kinsmen. One other means is nonetheless available to her. She can surrender herself to the mercies of her kin group. Thus a crying woman unexpectedly entered the house of her parents from which she had fled about six years earlier. "Kill me if you wish, here I am," were her words. She gave as the reason for her return the fact that she longed desperately for her mother. Her

684 /235 cont./ arrival aroused a great commotion, but the
593 situation that had thus arisen was accepted, and she was
588 henceforth not regarded as tumannjala. However, such cases remain a rarity.

Even married women resort to this method, though very rarely, if a reconciliation in the customary manner seems impossible. This was done by a woman, for instance, whose husband had taken a second wife and who was now receiving insufficient means of support from him. The same was also done by a childless woman. The action is regarded as a deed [627] of desperation. In performing it the woman runs the risk of being killed, for in so doing she delivers herself to her brothers who would stab her to death, or at least /236/ would have to make an attempt at doing so in case of an accidental meeting in public. However, her act of desperation has as a consequence that the latter no longer feel the urge to stab. She who originally made them siri' now shows herself lesser than they.

Declaration of Death

There is also a way for the tumasiri' to escape the need to behave as tumasiri'. This is the "declaration of death." "I no longer have a child, neither in this world nor in the hereafter" (1), are the customary words. It is also said that,

1. Tenamo anakku rilino nariahereka.

the child is "declared dead" (2) by the one who has spoken

2. Nimateangi.

these words, that he has cast it out (3), that it is no longer

3. Natallaki ana'na.

684 /236 cont./ recognized by him as his child (4). This
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4. Nisassali rimanggena.

declaration sometimes takes place in the mosque in the presence of the imam and other prominent men of the adat community. This simply adds more force to the words. The declaration can also be made at home without any intentional witnesses.

The utterance of the words may, in the first instance, be coupled with some ritual in the form of offering psang. On that occasion the religious official recites the initial words of the Koran. It is said that thereby the Prophet is regarded as another witness to the utterance of the declaration (5).

5. Nipappisa'biangi rina'bia.

Modern Islamites repudiate this ritual. They speak contemptuously of "the pisang reading" (amattja unti).

The consequence of this declaration of death, which is closer to the Islamic than the ancestral world, is not that a child is thereby regarded as disinherited. The religious judge (sjarat) took no account of it in regulating the personal estate of a man who had declared his daughter dead.

In practice it seems to be principally the father of the
593 fled woman who at present makes use of such a declaration.
588 Her brothers do not do so; they do not regard themselves bound
684 by their father's declaration. They consider themselves free,
627 both in their attempts to kill her, as well as in giving their assent to the reconciliation. /237/ Repeatedly, a tacit recall takes place as the father later also gives his consent to the reconciliation. But it also has happened that a reconciliation came about with all the tumasiri' except the woman's parents.

593 /237 cont./ In yet another case the brothers and cousins of
588 the woman tacitly agreed with the declaration uttered by
684 their father. In this case she had fled to a lower man, and
627 therefore the tumasiri', as they asserted, could not act as is otherwise customary after silariang.

Frequently, a special reason can be given for the deposition of such a declaration of death. The fact that a man regularly walked past the house of his wife's father in an insolent manner before the reconciliation, when he should have kept himself outside the view of his tumasiri' as much as possible was a reason for the latter to feel extra siri'.
593 Another man whose daughter had gone to live with a distant
684 kinsman at the pasar of Borongloë and who was there receiving various men saw in this a reason to repudiate her.

684 The declaration of death seems to be a new institution.
627 It relieves the tumasiri' of their duty to stab. On the other
[177] hand, it makes a reconciliation difficult. The fact that existing ties are considered to be completely broken diminishes both the chance of stabbing as well as of reconciliation.

If siri' feelings, which in affairs concerning women can only be reconciled by death, could in future increasingly be satisfied by a declaration of death, we would have here an opportunity of solving the conflict in a manner less harmful to the many men who at present now realize that the honor of their related group is too dearly paid for by a jail sentence of an average of eight years. /238/

SUMMARY

105 In Makassarese culture four different forms of grouping can be distinguished, each with its own function.

Makassar OG6
Toradja OB11

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still dancing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
576 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
431 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
567 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame
181 regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684 588] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

and where they have come from. For example, they tell people that they were nobles where they came from. Here is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes. 565 567 178

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or a woman who married or had something to do with a man of lower status. 696 681 567 626 [684 588]

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. The social classes are set. 557 565 556

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it would be better to say that there is some. There are many cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes, terms of address, and manners. 554 531

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present. As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the "real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the 178 554 342 565 531